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APPENDIX.

DOCUMENTS REFERRED TO IN THE ARTICLE ON "SOCIALISM IN FRANCE."

AGRICULTURAL PROGRAM OF THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY.

WHEREAS, Producers (to quote the words of the general program of this party) will be free only when they are in possession of the means of production; and,

WHEREAS, In France at least, it is not now true in the domain of agriculture, as it is in the domain of manufacture, that the means of production are so concentrated in the hands of capital that they can only be restored to producers under a collectivist or social régime, since the means of production, that is the soil, are in many cases owned by the producers themselves; and,

WHEREAS, Socialism must not hasten the disappearance of this peasant proprietorship, though this disappearance be ultimately inevitable, since the rôle of socialism is not to separate owner and work, but, on the contrary, to unite in the same hands these two factors of all production, whose separation entails the servitude and misery of laborers fallen into the proletariat; and,

WHEREAS, The protection of proprietors cultivating their own soil from taxation, from usury, and from the encroachments of new lords, is the duty of socialism, no less imperative than that of restoring to agricultural proprietors, in a collective or social form, the great estates taken from their idle holders, by the same right that would apply to railroads, mines, and factories; and,

WHEREAS, There is reason for extending this protection to those producers who, as tenants or metayers, increase the value of the land of others, and who, while they exploit laborers, are in some sense forced to do so by the exploitation of which they are themselves the victims,

Therefore, The Labor Party, which, in contrast to the Anarchists, does not expect the social order to be transformed by means of prolonged and intensified misery, and which sees no liberation for labor and for society except in the combined efforts of rural and city laborers, taking over the government and making the laws—has adopted the following program, designed to unite all the elements of agricultural production, all the forces which add to the value of the national soil, in the struggle against the common enemy, *feudal land tenure*.

Article 1. A minimum wage, to be fixed by the agricultural laborers and the municipal councils for day laborers as well as for those hired by the year (herdsmen, male and female farm hands, etc.)

Art. 2. Appointment of agricultural *prud hommes*.

Art. 3. Prohibition of alienation by the communes of seaboard and other public lands at present uncultivated; the surplus from the communal budget to be applied to improve communal property.

Art. 4. The assignment, by the communes, of lands which have been ceded by the state, or which they have held or purchased, to families not owning land, with a prohibition of the employment of hired labor, and with the obligation to pay rent for the benefit of the budget of communal relief.

Art. 5. A fund for agricultural pensions for the sick and the aged, to be maintained by a special tax on the income of large proprietors.

Art. 6. Organization of cantonal dispensaries, with free medical attendance and medicine at cost.

Art. 7. Compensation to the families of reserve-men during their term of service, at the expense of the state, the department, and the commune.

Art. 8. Purchase by the commune, with the concurrence of the state, of agricultural machinery, or the hiring of such machinery, to be placed freely at the disposal of small cultivators; the formation of associations of agricultural laborers for the purchase of fertilizers, drains, seeds, plants, etc., and for the sale of products.

Art. 9. Abrogation of transfer fees for property below 5000 francs.

Art. 10. Abolition of all indirect taxes, and the substitution for direct taxes of a progressive tax on incomes over 3000 francs; in the meantime exemption from the land tax in the case of holders who are themselves cultivators, and the diminution of such taxes for those whose land is encumbered with mortgages.

Art. 11. Reduction of the legal and customary rates of interest.

Art. 12. Decrease of transportation charges for fertilizers, machinery, and agricultural products.

Art. 13. Reduction of rentals by arbitration commissions, as in Ireland, and compensation to outgoing tenants for improvements of the property.

Art. 14. Repeal of Article 2102 of the civil code giving to proprietors a lien on the harvest, and the abolition of "*saisie-brandon*," that is, the seizure of the standing crops; securing to the cultivator of a reserve exempt from execution, which shall comprise the implements of cultivation, and the crops, fertilizers, and cattle indispensable to his work.

Art. 15. Revision of the *cadastre*, and, pending this general measure, local revision by communes.

Art. 16. The immediate consideration of a system of public works, having for its object the improvement of the soil and the development of agricultural production.

Art. 17. Freedom of hunting and fishing, limited only by the measures necessary for the preservation of game and fish, and the protection of the crops; the abolition of preserves and of gamekeepers.

Art. 18. Free courses of instruction in agriculture and agricultural experiment stations.

PROGRAM OF THE WORKINGMEN'S PARTY.

WHEREAS, The emancipation of the producing class is the emancipation of all human beings, without distinction of sex or race; and,

WHEREAS, Producers will not be free until they are in possession of the means of production—land, factories, ships, banks, credit, etc.; and,

WHEREAS, There are only two forms under which the means of production can belong to them:

1. The individualistic form, which in fact has never prevailed universally, and which is being more and more crowded out by industrial progress; and,
2. The collectivist form, the material and intellectual conditions of which have been brought into existence by the growth of capitalistic society; and,

WHEREAS, This collective appropriation can prevail only by the revolutionary action of the producing class—the proletariat—organized as a distinct political party; and,

WHEREAS, Such an organization ought to be sought by all the means at the disposal of the proletariat, including universal suffrage, transformed from the instrument of fraud, which it has been up to this time, into a means of emancipation,

Therefore, The French Socialist Workingmen, in giving as the object of their efforts political and economic expropriation of the capitalistic class and the return to collectivism in all the means of production, have decided, as a means of organization and of struggle, to enter upon a campaign with the following immediate demands:

A.—POLITICAL.

1. Abrogation of all laws in regard to the press, meetings, and associations, especially the law against the international association of workmen. Abolition of the *livret*. Repeal of all articles of the code discriminating against workmen in favor of their employers, or against women in favor of men.
2. Abolition of state support of the church, and the taking over by the state of all property, real and personal, held in mortmain by religious corporations, including all the industrial and commercial establishments carried on by these corporations.

3. Repudiation of the public debt.
4. The substitution of a militia for the standing army.
5. The control by the commune of its own administration and its own police.

B.—ECONOMIC.

1. A weekly day of rest, employers to be prohibited from requiring laborers to work more than six days in seven. A legal eight-hour day for adults; the prohibition of the labor of children under fourteen in private workshops, and the reduction of the working day to six hours for persons between fifteen and eighteen.
2. Protective supervision of apprentices by workmen's associations.
3. A legal minimum wage, fixed each year by a statistical labor commission on the basis of the local prices of commodities.
4. A legal prohibition of the employment of foreign labor at wages less than those of French labor.
5. Equal pay for equal work for the two sexes.
6. Scientific and technical instruction for all children educated at the expense of society represented by the state and the commune.
7. Care by society of the aged and those incapacitated for labor.
8. Prohibition of all interference by employers in the management of workmen's funds for mutual aid, of provident associations, etc., the exclusive management of these being restored to the workmen.
9. Employers' liability in case of accident, secured by a guarantee deposited by the employers in the workmen's funds, and proportioned to the number of workmen employed and to the danger involved in the work in question.
10. Participation of workmen in the management of their several workshops; the abolition of the right usurped by masters to punish their workmen by means of fines or the retention of their wages.
11. The annulment of all contracts alienating public property, banks, railroads, mines, etc.; and the management of all state workshops to be entrusted to the laborers who work in them.
12. The abolition of all indirect taxes and the substitution for all direct taxes of a progressive tax on incomes exceeding 3000 francs. The abolition of collateral inheritance and of all inheritance in the direct line exceeding 20,000 francs.